

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11  
EB-08 IO-13 /097 W  
-----024995 051045Z /16

R 051019Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1355  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 09867

E.O.11652:GDS  
TAGS: EAIR, PEPR, KS, UR  
SUBJECT: KAL INCIDENT AND ROK-SOVIET RELATIONS

REF: (A) SEOUL 3640, (B) COPENHAGEN 2852, (C) LENINGRAD  
1319, (D) MOSCOW 9246

SUMMARY: IN OUR VIEW, THE SOVIET UNION'S HANDLING OF THE  
DOWNED KAL INCIDENT GIVES NO REASON TO BE HOPEFUL THAT USSR  
HAS CHANGED ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ROK. ON THE CONTRARY,  
THE USSR APPEARS AS DETERMINED AS EVER TO REFUSE TO DEAL  
WITH THE ROKG (SEE SEPTTEL ON GENERAL POLITICAL CONSIDERA-  
TIONS). SPECIFICALLY, WE THINK THE USSR WOULD STAUNCHLY  
RESIST ANY ATTEMPTS BY EITHER THE ROKG OR ICAO TO OPEN A  
NEW INVESTIGATION, PROBABLY ARGUING THAT IT HAS ALREADY  
CONDUCTED AN INVESTIGATION INTO WHAT WAS AN INCIDENT NOT AN  
ACCIDENT AND USING THE STATEMENTS OF GUILT IT GOT FROM THE  
PILOT AND NAVIGATOR AS WELL. END SUMMARY.

1. AS OUR REPORTING CABLES SHOWED AT THE TIME (SEE REF D  
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AND PREVIOUS) THE SOVIETS RATHER RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTED USG  
INVOLVEMENT IN THE KAL MATTER WHICH IT IS IMPORTANT TO  
NOTE TOOK PLACE DURING SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT AND  
PERSISTENTLY KEPT OUR DEALINGS ON AN "INFORMAL" BASIS,  
REFUSING TO ACKNOWLEDGE ROKG INTERESTS "FORMALLY." TASS  
TREATMENT ON THE RELEASE OF THE PILOT AND NAVIGATOR  
CONTINUES THIS STYLE OF TREATMENT; NOWHERE IS THERE ANY

MENTION OF THE ROK OR ROKG, NOR IS KAL REFERRED TO BY NAME.

2. WE SEE NO REASON TO THINK THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO ANY REQUEST BY THE ROKG UNDER ARTICLE 26 OF THE ICAO AGREEMENT (REF A). SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE ALREADY CONDUCTED, AND TO ALL APPEARANCES CONCLUDED, THEIR INVESTIGATION INTO THE KAL INCIDENT. (FYI, MFA FIRST FAR EASTERN DIVISION CHIEF KAPITSA TOLD EMBASSY OFFICER ON APRIL 28 THAT SOVIET INVESTIGATION WAS COMPLETED.) AS TASS APRIL 29 STATEMENT (REF B) MAKES QUITE CLEAR, THE SOVIETS ARE PORTRAYING THE INCIDENT (NOT ACCIDENT) AS RESULTING FROM THE "FAILURE OF THE CREW TO ABIDE BY THE INTERNATIONAL RULES OF FLIGHT AND REFUSAL TO OBEY THE DEMANDS OF THE SOVIET FIGHTER PLANES OF THE AIR DEFENCE TO FOLLOW THEM FOR LANDING IN AN AIRFIELD;" POSSIBILITY OF NAVIGATIONAL ERROR IS NOT MENTIONED.

3. ALTHOUGH EMBASSY DOES NOT HAVE THE TEXT OF THE "AKT" WHICH THE PILOT AND THE NAVIGATOR SIGNED, WE BELIEVE THAT THE REFUSAL BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO PERMIT THE INCLUSION OF THE WORD "UNINTENTIONAL" TO DESCRIBE THE INTRUSION (REF C) AND THE SILENCE OF THE TASS STATEMENT ON THIS ASPECT INDICATES THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT ACCEPT THE ARGUMENT THAT OVERFLIGHT WAS CAUSED BY THE FAILURE OF NAVIGATIONAL EQUIPMENT. INDEED, THE MANNER IN WHICH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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AKT WAS RECORDED AND THE WORDING OF THE TASS ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION MAY HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO PRECLUDE FURTHER INVESTIGATION OR INTERVENTION BY THE ICAO UNDER ARTICLE 26 ON BASIS THAT THE INCIDENT WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED HAD THE PILOT AND NAVIGATOR "ABIDED" AND "OBEYED."

4. SHOULD THE ROKG WISH TO PURSUE THE QUESTION OF ANOTHER INVESTIGATION AND RETURN OF THE VOICE AND FLIGHT RECORDER, EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT IT SHOULD DO SO THROUGH THE ICAO RATHER THAN THROUGH AN APPROACH BY THE USG TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. WE SEE NO REASON TO THINK THE SOVIETS WILL BE FORTHCOMING ON EITHER COUNT, BUT LATTER, MULTILATERAL ROUTE PROBABLY STANDS BETTER, THOUGH STILL MINIMAL, CHANCE. TOON

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, AIRSPACE VIOLATIONS  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Reference:** 78 SEOUL 3640, 78 COPENHAGEN 2852, 78 LENINGRAD 78  
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